Representation at Work: Socio-economic status (SES) implications of representation

9 October

Barnes, Beall & Holman (BBH) (2021)

- Working class is also underrepresented.
  - *REM: last week during the quotas lecture, I mentioned that a critique of quotas is that they only really support (elite) women in a position to be “more elite.”
- Research has only focused on blue-collar workers, i.e., working class men…
- …and has largely ignored the pink-collar workers, i.e., working class women.
- In terms of Weldon’s approaches, which does BBH take?
  - Gender-SES

What do we mean by…

…“working class” men?

- Industrial (p.6)
- Farm (p.6)
- Union (p.6)
- Transportation (p.7)
- Manual Labor (p.7)
- Tradesmen (p.7)
- Police (p.7)

…“working class” women?

- Women make up over 60% of workforce
- Social services (p.7)
- Education (p.7)
  - Teaching assistants
  - Secondary teachers
- Health support (p.7)
- Personal care (p.7)”
- Office administration (p.7)

****27% of US workforce**

FIGURE 1
Sharing of Working-Class Representatives in State Legislatures, 2012

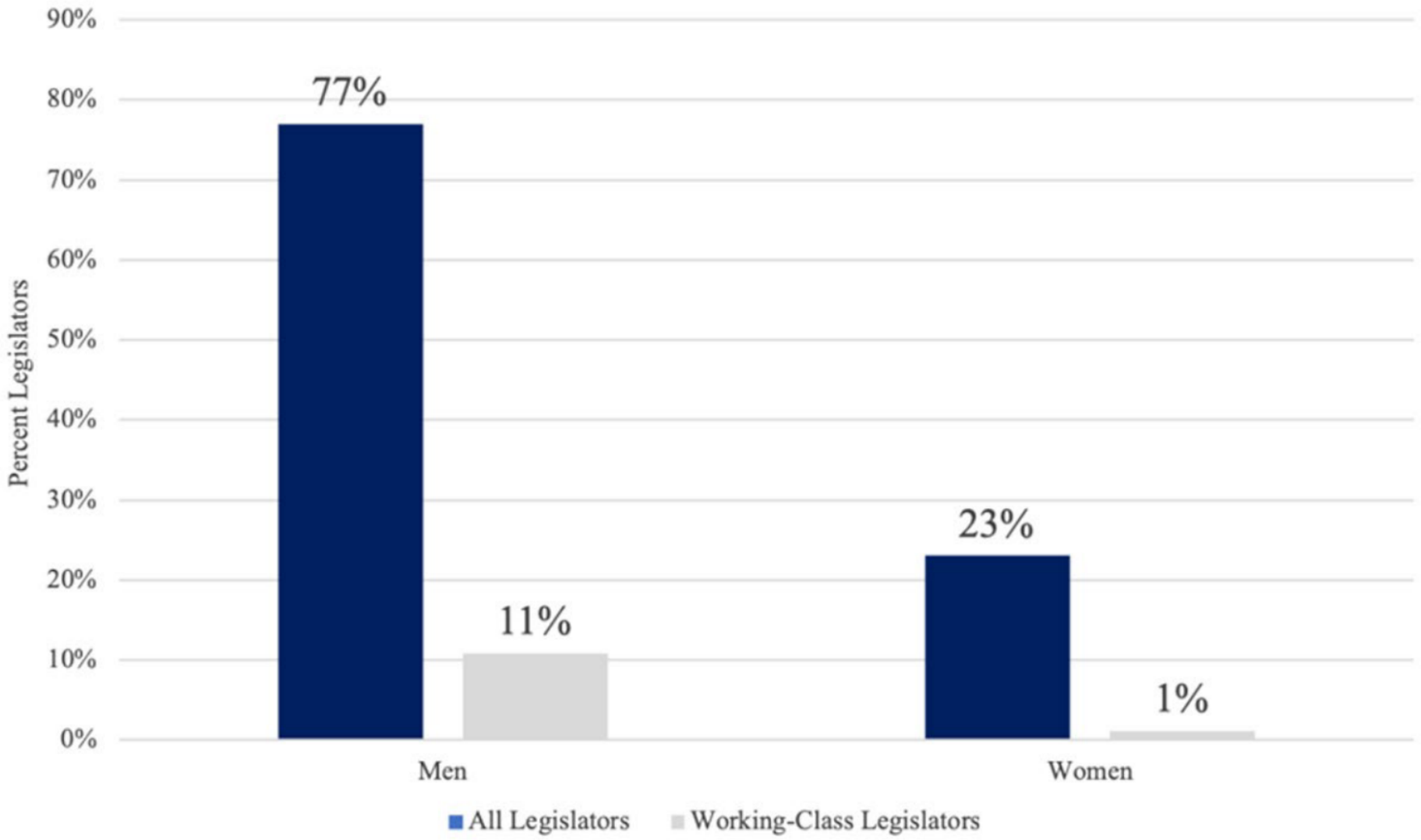
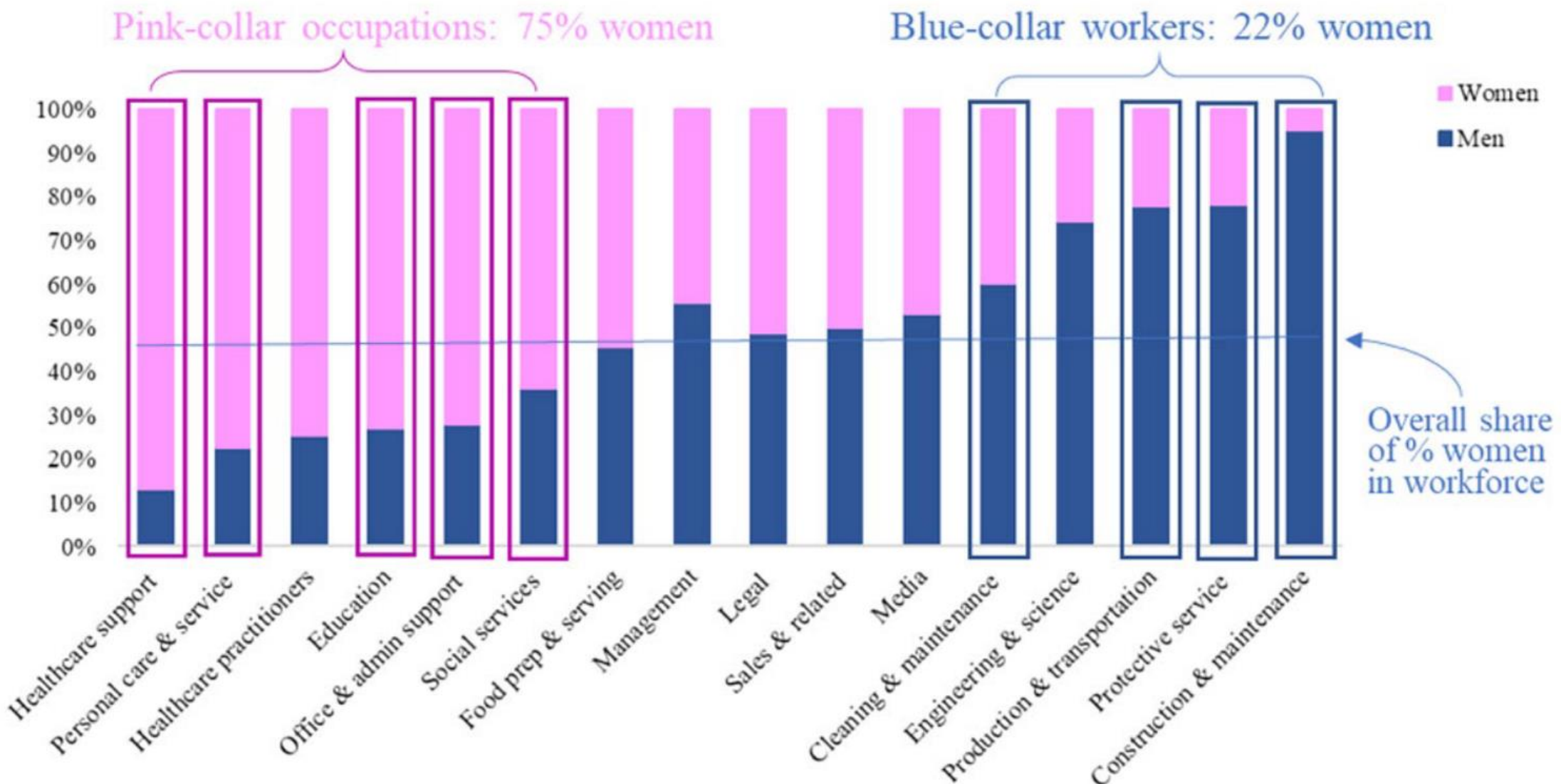


FIGURE 2
Population-level Gender Segregation by Occupation



BBH: Argument & RHs

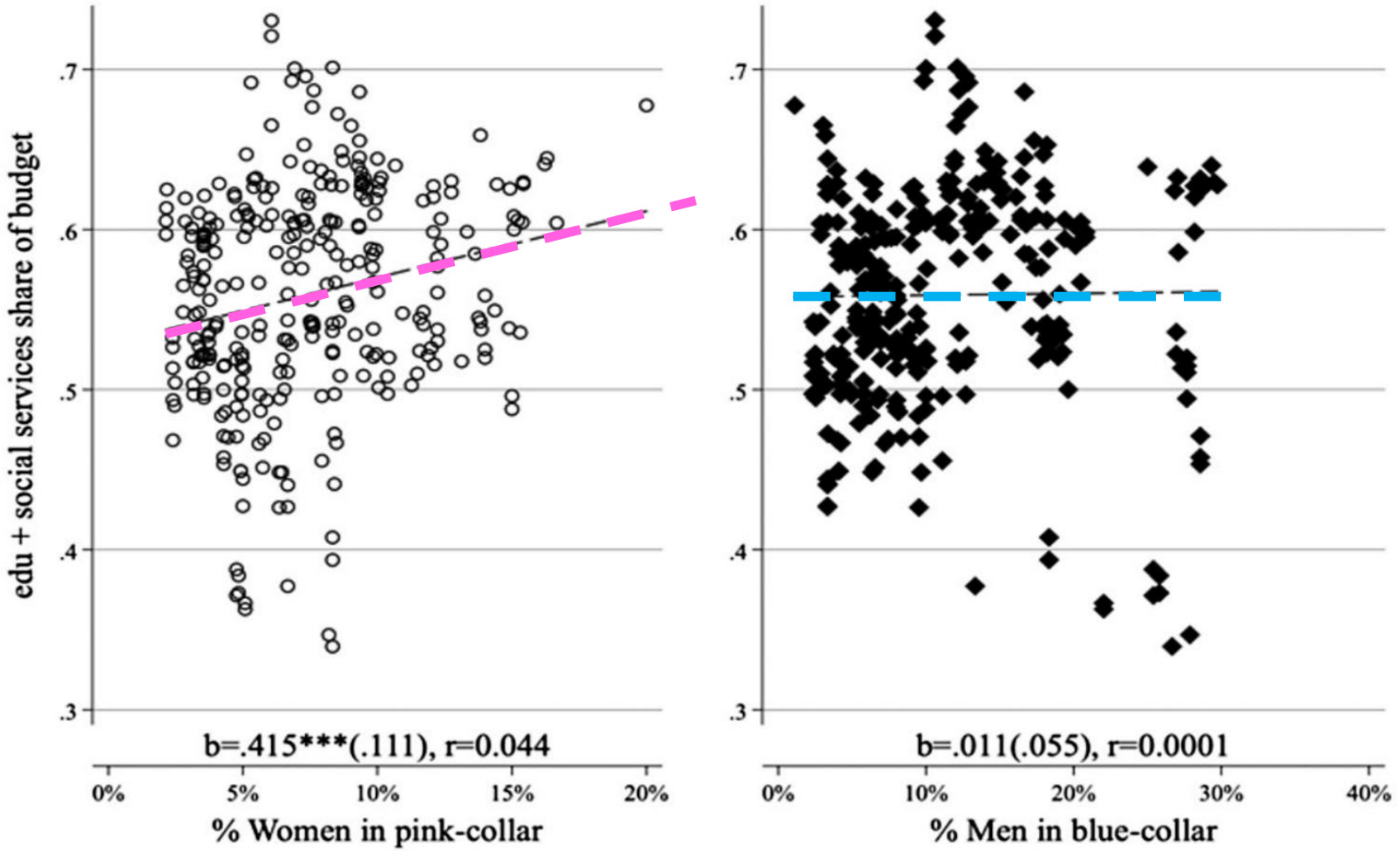
- **ARGUE:** "…pink-collar occupational experiences, particularly for women, should shape legislative behavior and priorities because of socialization via occupations, gender roles, and the feminization of poverty…" (pgs. 8 & 27)
- **RH1:** "…as the share of pink-collar representation (whether men or women) in a legislative body increases, it will be associated with higher levels of budget allocation to social-service- and education-funding categories." (p.9)
- **RH2:** "…women's pink-collar representation will be associated with higher levels of budget allocation to social-service- and education-funding categories." (p.10)

Data & Methods

- 30 states, 308 legislative sessions
- 11 years, 2004-2015
- DV: budget allocation (Revenue & spending data in a given fiscal year)
  - US Census Annual Survey of Government Finance
  - Money = gets things done, *but are finite*
- Budget categories (2004-2018 baseline):
  - Education (18%)
  - Social services (37%)
  - Transportation & Infrastructure (11%)
  - Public safety (5%)
  - Government administration (29%)
- IV: Pink-collar representation: proportion of women/men with that background
  - BLUE COLLAR: 7%
    - 12% men
    - 1% women
  - PINK COLLAR: 16%
    - 13% men
    - 23% women

Healthcare: 8%
Personal care: 4%
Education: 62%
[Government] Administration: 4%
Social Services: 27%

FIGURE 3
Women's Pink-Collar vs Men's Blue-Collar Representation and Relationship to Education and Social Service Share of Budget



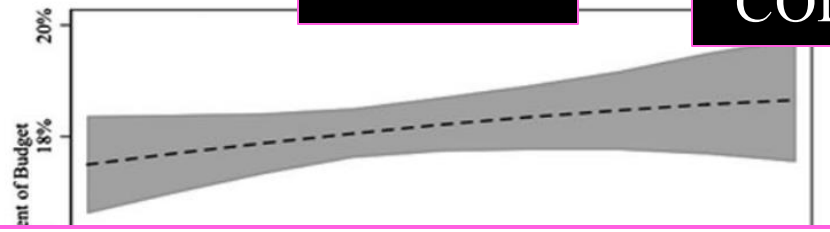
Note: Pink and blue-collar collar calculated by the authors. Share of budget is simply percentage of budget dedicated to education and social services in any given year. Line is bivariate regression slop.

RESULTS

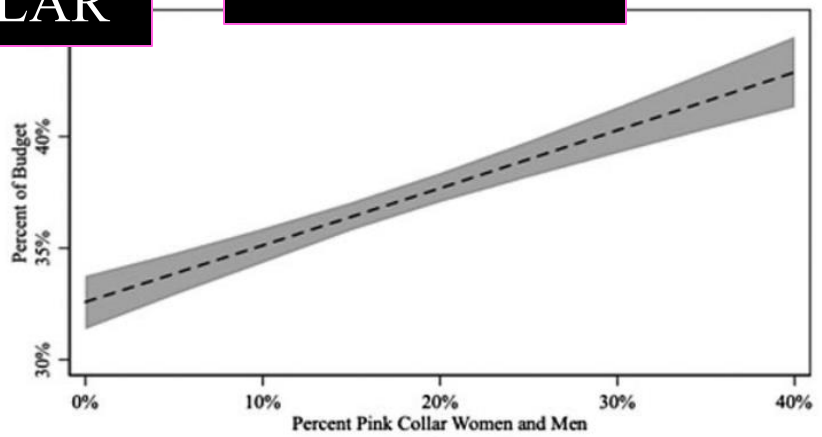
FIGURE 4
Pink-Collar Representation and Education and Social Service Expenditures

ALL PINK COLLAR

Education



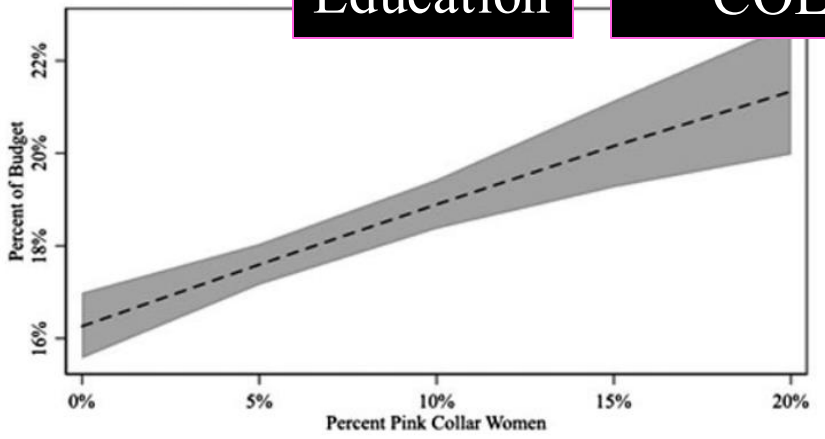
Social Services



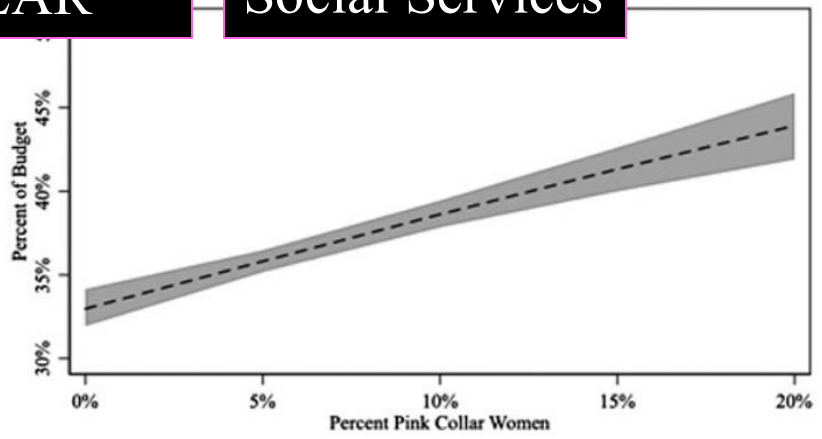
Note: Figure plots the expected level of spending (based on 1000 simulations) for each category (with 84% confidence intervals) as pink-collar representation moves from the sample minimum to the sample maximum. while all other continuous variables are held at their mean and dichotomous variables are held at their mode. The expected values plotted in the top and bottom panels are based on the results reported in Tables B1 and B2, respectively.

WOMEN PINK COLLAR

Education

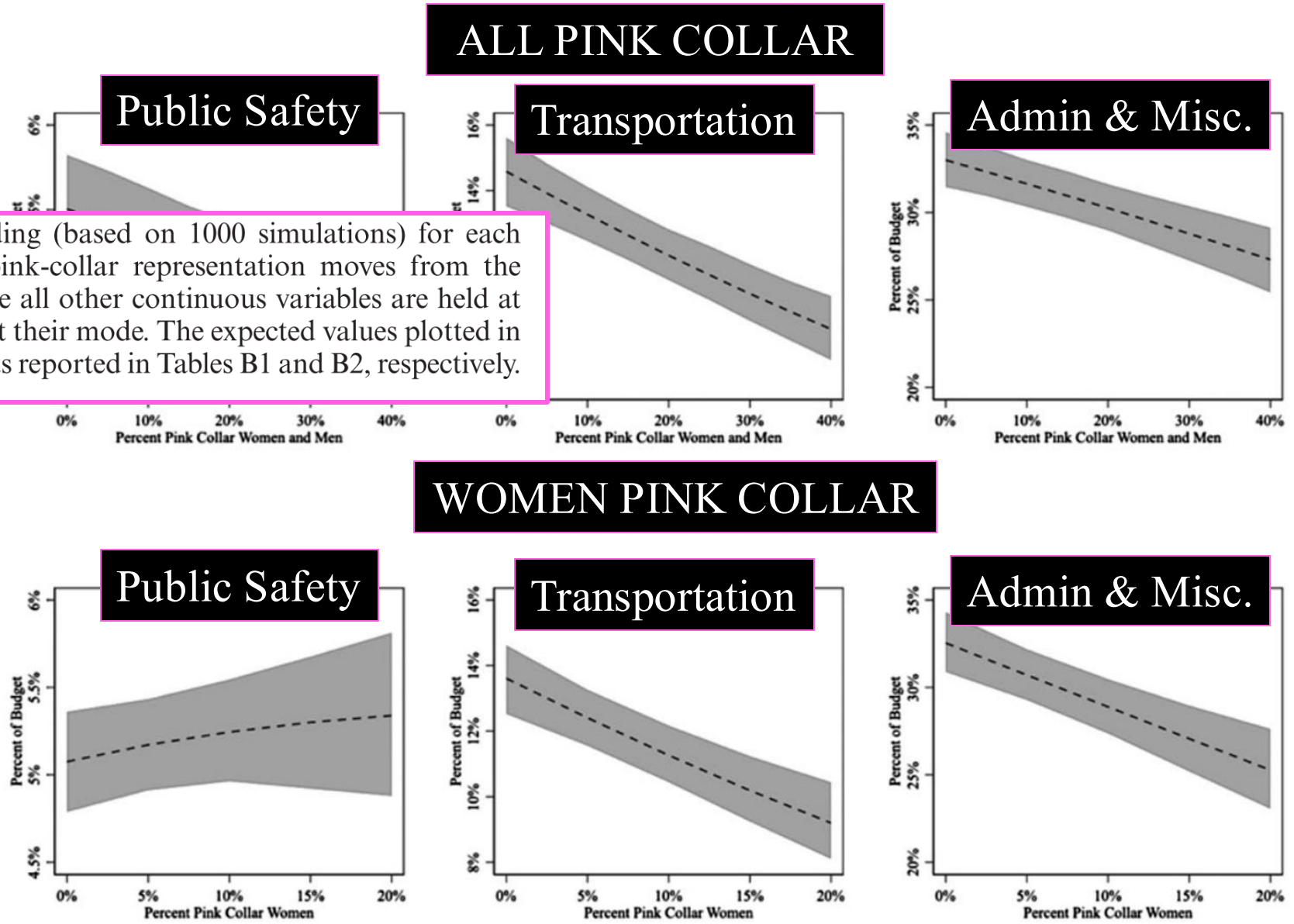


Social Services



RESULTS

FIGURE 5
Pink-Collar Representation and Public Safety, Transportation, and Administration Expenditures



Note: Figure plots the expected level of spending (based on 1000 simulations) for each category (with 84% confidence intervals) as pink-collar representation moves from the sample minimum to the sample maximum. while all other continuous variables are held at their mean and dichotomous variables are held at their mode. The expected values plotted in the top and bottom panels are based on the results reported in Tables B1 and B2, respectively.

Concluding Points

- Pink-collar women are severely underrepresented in politics compared to blue- and pink-collar men.
- One's experiences create unique political preferences.
  - Gendered socialization
  - SES / "Feminization of poverty"

  } Education & Social Services policies are more likely to be favored.
- The relationship between Descriptive and Substantive representation can be studied well using budgetary data!

Discussion Questions

- Is it necessary that SES is ‘adequately’ represented in politics?
  - Calls into question what skills (OR perceptions?) it takes to be a ‘good’ representative and ‘do’ politics and policy…?
- Do you dis/agree with the ‘elite-ism’ argument of politics?
- Do you think something is missing (a concept) from their theory and/or conclusions?
  - How may it change the relationship between other concepts (strengthen weaken, make more positive/negative, or even change the sign)?
  - EX: How might education level influence the relationships between the authors’ concepts?